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Message Text

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C:RHOPPER
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL IZMIR

UNCLAS STATE 080462

USEEC; FOR CHRISTOPHER PARTY

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS:PEPR, MASS, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT:SELECTED US PRESS COVERAGE OF DEPUTY SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP

REF: ANKARA 2339

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EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND TO GET ON WITH RESTORING FIRM AMERICAN TIES WITH TURKEY AND GREECE? DOES NOT THIS APPROACH PROMISE BETTER RESULTS IN CYPRUS ITSELF THAN FOUR YEARS OF DIRECT DIPLOMATIC ASSAULT HAVE PRODUCED?

WE THINK SO. WE THINK THAT FEW AMERICAN POLICIES HAVE BEEN MORE EARNESTLY MOTIVATED, AND MORE THOROUGHLY DISCREDITED, THAN THE FAILED EFFORT TO FORCE TURKEY TO ROLL BACK ITS INVASION OF CYPRUS BY IMPOSING AN ARMS EMBARGO. CYPRUS HAS

RECEIVED NO BENEFIT WHATSOEVER FROM IT. THE AMERICAN POSITION IN THAT STRATEGIC CORNER HAS STEADILY DETERIORATED. TWO AMERICAN PRESIDENTS HAVE BEEN UNDERCUT.

THE CONGRESSIONAL "GREEK LOBBY," WHICH HAS DOMINATED SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIONS ON THIS ISSUE, REMAINS UNRECONSTRUCTED. IT HOLDS THAT THE BEST WAY TO PRY THE TURKISH ARMY OFF THE ISLAND AND BRING A SETTLEMENT IS TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON ANKARA. INCREASINGLY, HOWEVER, OTHER LEGISLATORS, INCLUDING NOW A HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE MAJORITY, SUSPECT THAT THE EMBARGO MERELY HUMILIATES TURKEY AND THAT THE TURKS--CURSE THEM AS YOU WILL--WILL NOT BUDGE ON CYPRUS WHILE THIS EMBARGO STAYS IN EFFECT.
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DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER IS IN ANKARA TODAY. IF HE IS NOT TRYING TO SEE WHETHER TURKEY, IN THE EVENT THAT THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED, WOULD MOVE PROMPTLY ON ITS OWN TOWARD A FAIR CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, HE HAS WASTED A TRIP. GREAT DELICACY IS REQUIRED. THE TURKS CAN'T COUNTENANCE BEING SEEN TO BE ACTING UNDER PRESSURE. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT MUST NOT BE EXPOSED TO OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT, FOR THE SAKE OF NATO, GREEK INTERESTS ON CYPRUS ARE BEING SOLD OUT. BUT PERHAPS A BARGAIN CAN BE STRUCK.

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AND PUBLICLY IN RECENT WEEKS TO REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE THAT SEEMED TO LINK U.S.-TURKISH MILITARY TIES TO PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS DISPUTE.

JUST SUCH A LINK BETWEEN CYPRUS AND U.S. MILITARY AID WAS THE ESSENCE OF THE ARMS EMBARGO PASSED BY CONGRESS IN 1975 OVER THE STRONG OBJECTIONS OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION. PRO-GREEK FORCES ON CAPITOL HILL HAVE INSISTED THAT MAJOR AID TO TURKEY BE CONDITIONED ON CONCESSIONS BY THAT COUNTRY ON CYPRUS. CARTER ENDORSED THIS POSITION WHILE CAMPAIGNING

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AN AID PACKAGE FOR TURKEY IN THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS TOWARD A RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS IS CERTAIN TO PRODUCE A BATTLE IN CONGRESS. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS PARTICULARLY SKITTISH ABOUT SUCH A FIGHT RIGHT NOW BECAUSE THE FINAL SENATE VOTE ON THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY MIGHT BE AFFECTED. EARLY LAST YEAR, SEVERAL INFLUENTIAL LAWMAKERS THREATENED TO OPPOSE THE CANAL TREATIES IF CARTER WENT AHEAD WITH A PLAN TO SELL F4 JET FIGHTERS TO TURKEY. THE ADMINISTRATION BACKED DOWN.

THE SUDDENNESS AND HIGH LEVEL OF THE U.S. MISSION SUGGESTED THAT CARTER'S NEW DECISIONS ARE NOT LIKELY TO SATISFY THE TURKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WASHINGTON SOURCES INDICATED THAT OPPONENTS OF NEW AID TO TURKEY MAY NOT BE HAPPY WITH THEM EITHER.

TRAVELING WITH CHRISTOPHER TO TURKEY WERE GEORGE VEST, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, AND UNCLASSIFIED

MATTHEW NIMETZ, STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELOR. THE U.S. OFFICIALS ARRIVED IN ANKARA LATE YESTERDAY, WIRE SERVICES REPORTED.

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ACCORDING TO ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, MR. CARTER DECIDED ONLY YESTERDAY TO SEND THE MISSION, HEADED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER, TO TURKEY LAST NIGHT AFTER EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS LED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WERE AT A CRISIS STAGE, BOTH FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGAN-IZATION.

MR. CARTER ALSO INSTRUCTED THE CHRISTOPHER MISSION TO STOP IN BONN AND LONDON ON ITS WAY HOME FROM ANKARA TO BRIEF WEST GERMAN AND BRITISH OFFICIALS ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO DELAY AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON PRODUCTION OF THE CON-TROVERSIAL NEUTRON BOMB. AN ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR LAST WEEK, BUT MR. CARTER DELAYED IT AT LEAST UNTIL EARLY NEXT MONTH FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH NATO ALLIES.
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MR. ECEVIT, WHO TOOK POWER IN JANUARY, HAS THREATENED IN RECENT WEEKS TO REDUCE TURKEY'S TIES TO THE ATLANTIC AL-LIANCE BY WITHDRAWING UNITS FROM NATO CONTROL, AND CLOSE THE AMERICAN BASES IN TURKEY PERMANENTLY, UNLESS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION MOVED QUICKLY TO RESCIND THE ARMS EMBARGO THAT WAS INSTITUTED IN 1975 AND TO PRESS FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE 1976 DEFENSE PACT WITH TURKEY.

CARTER DELAYED DECISION. BUT DESPITE STRONG URGING FROM THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER NATO ALLIES THAT WERE ALARMED OVER THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITER-RANEAN, MR. CARTER HAS DELAYED MAKING A DECISIVE MOVE ON TURKEY BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN VERY AWARE THAT ANY MOVE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WOULD IMMEDIATELY RUN INTO OPPOSITION FROM SUPPORTERS OF GREECE ON CAPITOL HILL.

THIS SO-CALLED GREEK LOBBY WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION IN 1975 THAT IMPOSED THE ARMS EMBARGO IN RE-TALIATION FOR TURKEY'S INVASION OF CYPRUS IN 1974 AND THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND NATION, WHICH HAS AN 80 PERCENT GREEK POPULATION. TURKEY RESPONDED BY CLOSING DOWN MOST OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN TURKEY.

SINCE THEN, THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO ALLOW TURKEY TO BUY UP TO DOLS 173 MILLION IN ARMS YEARLY. IN 1976, THE FORD ADMINISTRATION SIGNED A DEFENSE PACT THAT WOULD REOPEN THE BASES, END THE EMBARGO, AND ALLOW TURKEY DOLS 1 BILLION IN MILITARY AID OVER FOUR YEARS.

DELAY IN APPROVAL OF PACT. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION DE-CIDED LAST YEAR NOT TO SEEK CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE

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DEFENSE PACT UNTIL THERE WAS MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY ON THE CYPRUS SITUATION.

THREE MONTHS AGO, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED ON A STRATEGY UNDER WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD MAKE A STATEMENT TO

CONGRESS URGING PASSAGE OF THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT IF MR. ECEVIT WOULD MAKE NEW PROPOSALS FOR SOLVING THE CYPRUS SITUATION. BUT WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE DISCLOSED THIS STRATEGY EARLIER THIS MONTH BEFORE A SENATE COMMITTEE, MR. ECEVIT RESPONDED ANGRILY BY DENOUNCING THE "LINKAGE" AND REFUSING TO MAKE ANY CYPRUS PROPOSALS.

THIS SITUATION HAS PRESENTED THE ADMINISTRATION WITH A DIFFICULT DECISION, SINCE IT HAS BEEN PLANNING TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON ITS POLICY TOWARD TURKEY, FIRST IN MARCH AND NOW ON APRIL 6.

IF IT DELAYS A STATEMENT FAVORING THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT UNTIL MR. ECEVIT MAKES SOME CONESSION ON CYPRUS, IT FACES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT MR. ECEVIT WOULD RETALIATE BY FURTHER WEAKENING HIS COUNTRY'S TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND NATO.

TRIP TO MOSCOW PLANNED. ALREADY, TURKISH OFFICIALS ARE SAYING THAT MR. ECEVIT WILL BOYCOTT A SUMMIT MEETING OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE LEADERS THAT IS PLANNED FOR MAY 30 AND 31 IN WASHINGTON IF THE EMBARGO HAS NOT BEEN ENDED. MOREOVER, THE TURKS SAY THAT MR. ECEVIT IS PLANNING A TRIP TO MOSCOW IN JUNE.

BUT IF THE ADMINISTRATION MOVES TO GET THE DEFENSE PACT APPROVED WITHOUT ANY CYPRUS CONCESSIONS, IT WOULD RUN

THE RISK OF A MAJOR POLITICAL BATTLE ON CAPITOL HILL AT A TIME WHEN IT ALREADY HAS FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS OVER THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE PROJECTED STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION ACCORD.

MR. CARTER MET PRIVATELY LAST FRIDAY AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH LEADERS OF THE PRO-GREEK FORCES IN CONGRESS, IN-CLUDING SENATOR PAUL S. SARBANES, DEMOCRAT OF MARYLAND, AND REPRESENTATIVE JOHN BRADEMAS, DEMOCRAT OF INDIANA, WHO IS THE MAJORITY WHIP. END QUOTE. COOPER

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SOURCES HERE SAID THE STOPOVER IN BONN ON THE WAY BACK FROM ANKARA IS IN PART TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THE NEUTRON BOMB, WHICH IS CURRENTLY BEFORE CARTER FOR DECISION. END QUOTE.

C) QUOTE: CARTER SENDS AIDES TO TURKEY FOR TALKS. U.S. TO CONSULT WITH ECEVIT AMID HINTS OF A SHIFT BY ANKARA AWAY FROM NATO. PRESIDENT CARTER, SEEKING TO AVERT A MAJOR SHIFT BY TURKEY AWAY FROM THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, HAS SENT A HASTILY ARRANGED DELEGATION TO ANKARA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT ON A TENTATIVE PLAN THAT WOULD LIFT THE THREE-YEAR-OLD AMERICAN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY.

ACCORDING TO ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, MR. CARTER DECIDED

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ONLY YESTERDAY TO SEND THE MISSION, HEADED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER, TO TURKEY LAST NIGHT AFTER EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS LED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WERE AT A CRISIS STAGE, BOTH FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.

MR. CARTER ALSO INSTRUCTED THE CHRISTOPHER MISSION TO STOP IN BONN AND LONDON ON ITS WAY HOME FROM ANKARA TO BRIEF WEST GERMAN AND BRITISH OFFICIALS ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO DELAY AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON PRODUCTION OF THE CONTROVERSIAL NEUTRON BOMB. AN ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR LAST WEEK, BUT MR. CARTER DELAYED IT AT LEAST UNTIL EARLY NEXT MONTH FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH NATO ALLIES.
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MR. ECEVIT, WHO TOOK POWER IN JANUARY, HAS THREATENED IN RECENT WEEKS TO REDUCE TURKEY'S TIES TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE BY WITHDRAWING UNITS FROM NATO CONTROL, AND CLOSE THE AMERICAN BASES IN TURKEY PERMANENTLY, UNLESS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION MOVED QUICKLY TO RESCIND THE ARMS EMBARGO THAT WAS INSTITUTED IN 1975 AND TO PRESS FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE 1976 DEFENSE PACT WITH TURKEY.

CARTER DELAYED DECISION. BUT DESPITE STRONG URGING FROM THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER NATO ALLIES THAT WERE ALARMED OVER THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, MR. CARTER HAS DELAYED MAKING A DECISIVE MOVE ON TURKEY BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN VERY AWARE THAT ANY MOVE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY WOULD IMMEDIATELY RUN INTO OPPOSITION FROM SUPPORTERS OF GREECE ON CAPITOL HILL.

THIS SO-CALLED GREEK LOBBY WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION IN 1975 THAT IMPOSED THE ARMS EMBARGO IN RETALIATION FOR TURKEY'S INVASION OF CYPRUS IN 1974 AND THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND NATION, WHICH HAS AN 80 PERCENT GREEK POPULATION. TURKEY RESPONDED BY CLOSING DOWN MOST OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN TURKEY.

SINCE THEN, THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO ALLOW TURKEY TO BUY UP TO DOLS 173 MILLION IN ARMS YEARLY. IN 1976, THE FORD ADMINISTRATION SIGNED A DEFENSE PACT THAT WOULD REOPEN THE BASES, END THE EMBARGO, AND ALLOW TURKEY DOLS 1 BILLION IN MILITARY AID OVER FOUR YEARS.

DELAY IN APPROVAL OF PACT. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION DECIDED LAST YEAR NOT TO SEEK CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE
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DEFENSE PACT UNTIL THERE WAS MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY ON THE CYPRUS SITUATION.

THREE MONTHS AGO, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED ON A STRATEGY UNDER WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD MAKE A STATEMENT TO

CONGRESS URGING PASSAGE OF THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT IF MR. ECEVIT WOULD MAKE NEW PROPOSALS FOR SOLVING THE CYPRUS SITUATION. BUT WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE DISCLOSED THIS STRATEGY EARLIER THIS MONTH BEFORE A SENATE COMMITTEE, MR. ECEVIT RESPONDED ANGRILY BY DENOUNCING THE "LINKAGE" AND REFUSING TO MAKE ANY CYPRUS PROPOSALS.

THIS SITUATION HAS PRESENTED THE ADMINISTRATION WITH A DIFFICULT DECISION, SINCE IT HAS BEEN PLANNING TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON ITS POLICY TOWARD TURKEY, FIRST IN MARCH AND NOW ON APRIL 6.

IF IT DELAYS A STATEMENT FAVORING THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT UNTIL MR. ECEVIT MAKES SOME CONESSION ON CYPRUS, IT FACES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT MR. ECEVIT WOULD RETALPATE BY FURTHER WEAKENING HIS COUNTRY'S TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND NATO.

TRIP TO MOSCOW PLANNED. ALREADY, TURKISH OFFICIALS ARE SAYING THAT MR. ECEVIT WILL BOYCOTT A SUMMIT MEETING OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE LEADERS THAT IS PLANNED FOR MAY 30 AND 31 IN WASHINGTON IF THE EMBARGO HAS NOT BEEN ENDED. MOREOVER, THE TURKS SAY THAT MR. ECEVIT IS PLANNING A TRIP TO MOSCOW IN JUNE.

BUT IF THE ADMINISTRATION MOVES TO GET THE DEFENSE PACT APPROVED WITHOUT ANY CYPRUS CONCESSIONS, IT WOULD RUN UNCLASSIFIED

THE RISK OF A MAJOR POLITICAL BATTLE ON CAPITOL HILL AT A TIME WHEN IT ALREADY HAS FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS OVER THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE PROJECTED STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION ACCORD.

MR. CARTER MET PRIVATELY LAST FRIDAY AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH LEADERS OF THE PRO-GREEK FORCES IN CONGRESS, IN-CLUDING SENATOR PAUL S. SARBANES, DEMOCRAT OF MARYLAND, AND REPRESENTATIVE JOHN BRADEMAS, DEMOCRAT OF INDIANA, WHO IS THE MAJORITY WHIP. END QUOTE. COOPER UNQUOTE COOPER

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